1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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593 Joshua then became the head. "There was not a *turanga*," I was told, "who could achieve as much as Joshua, on account of his brothers; they served him (*nggaravi koya*), and planted a great deal, and he controlled (*lewa*) their land, their crops."

Among the common people an elder brother has some authority. When I prepared to prosecute a man of lowest grade for larceny, his elder brother offered to refund the value of the article stolen; but later withdrew his offer because his younger brother refused to obey him.

[264] A younger brother by the same mother and father is known as an "after eater" (*kana i muri*) of the older. The term comes from the fact that a younger brother does not eat until the elder one has finished. Another term is "the basket carrier" (*i thola thola in kato*). A younger brother is also said to sit by the food basket or to look after the food basket because small people (*tamata lalai*) attend to the food which is usually hung up at the lower end of the house.

Great stress is always laid in genealogies and in historical narratives on the first born. The eldest son is called the *ulumatua*, old head. He is spoken of as "sacred blood" (*ndra tambu*). A man is *kaisi* (low born) to [565] his elder brother, and *turanga* (noble) to his younger brother. Leading nobles are *mana*, that is they cause supernatural effects, only to their juniors. When the High Chief's niece put round her neck a scarf belonging to her elder brother, her neck swelled because he is the elder and she is low in comparison. He was called in to stroke her neck in order to reduce the swelling. He stroked her with his hand, and the swelling ceased. Some use the foot to touch the swelling.

595 565 This tremendous predominance of the elder over the younger applies only to own brothers; it does not hold if they have different mothers. I was repeatedly told there was no precedence among the sons of different mothers, because nobles had so many wives that it was impossible to keep a reckoning of who came before whom. Yet stress was always laid on the first-born. The descendants of the first-born are treated with great respect. One evening I was having kava with Liwaki, the great-grandson of the second Lord of Naiau. Vola, great grandson of the third Lord of Naiau, who is "younger brother" to Liwaki, sat in a corner without joining in the conversation; I invited him to say something, but he remained silent. Liwaki took not the slightest notice of him. Vola afterwards explained that he remained silent in the presence of Liwaki or Salesi, grandson of the third Tui Naiau's eldest son, because:

> I am exceedingly glad, I may not talk in their presence; they are my elder brothers, and a younger brother only speaks if the elder addresses him; he does not mingle in the conversation. Among the low born the rule is not so strict, but if they choose to be respectful to their elder brothers they are. In the clan of Vatu

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wangga there is no precedence, because they have different mothers. The reason why I do not speak in Salesi's presence is that Salesi comes first in Vatuwangga, because Kilai, Salesi's father's father, was Taliai's eldest son. The reason why I may not speak to Liwaki is that he is a descendant of Malani, the eldest son of Rasolo. Liwaki may not speak to Ratu Finau, the High Chief, because Liwaki is the son of a younger brother. Yet Salesi may converse with Liwaki because they are brothers through their mothers.

Thus the statement that there is no precedence in the clan must be qualified: there are certain persons whose birth makes them great within the clan. Thus the late Rasolo, the third Lord of Naiau's daughter's son, was reported to have been a strong-minded man, perhaps because he prided himself on his rank: his mother was the daughter of Taliai, older than all the children of Taliai except the eldest son. In jest I was set down as Melaia Lutu's son, and told on that account I might send on errands the son of Melaia's "little sister"—by European reckoning, a cousin. The rank and file of the descendants of Niumataiwalu, ancestor of the nobility, however, lived on terms of easy familiarity.

The avoidance between own brothers seems to be connected in the minds of the people with the avoidance of brother and sister. The same avoidance as that between brother and sister is exercised between aunt and nephew, aunt and niece, uncle and niece, as between uncle and nephew, and between a man and his wife's mother, whether *veivungoni* are uncle and nephew or father-in-law and son-in-law. Respect is paid to the father's sister if she is older than the father, but not if she is younger. A woman will use respectful language (*vaka rokoroko*) to her elder brother's son. I could hear of no special functions of the father's sister.

According to Lakemban custom, a man does not use terms of respect to the mother's brother if the mother is the elder, whereas in Viti Levu the polite adverb *saka* is user regardless of precedence. The High Chief's elder sister's eldest son is greater than his uncle, because his mother is the elder sister, but he follows the Mbauan custom, not being acquainted with the Lauan; he uses the term *saka* and the second person plural in addressing his uncle; he generally sits at the lower end of the house while his uncle sits at the top. The Chief can speak to his nephew, but "it is difficult for his nephew to answer." They only could converse in private. The Chief on the other hand used the second person plural to his nephew, but not the word *saka*; he would keep away from the school grounds because his nephew was there. They never walked together, though indifferent as to which of them went first. Sometimes at kava the High Chief would pass on his cup to his nephew.

The mother's people are frequently referred to collectively as "your uncles" and a man would be told to "get a wife, as is fitting, from your uncles."

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Whenever the Sau is walking about, whoever comes to report drops to the grass cross-legged and stooping, and claps. When he superintends work, the Sau gives imperative orders. When he goes abroad he is given a wide berth. All practice towards him that avoidance which is exercised between father and son of high rank.

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Towards the present Randi Naiau, the nobles are polite but show no fear. The ladies are respectfully familiar, but treat her as a stranger.

Of old, the Lord of Naiau had many wives, but only one bore the title of Lady of Naiau, who was installed at the same time as the Lord of Naiau. Taliai married sisters; upon the death of one who was Lady of Naiau, the second succeeded to the title. The chief wife was also called *lewa mbau* and her house was the chief's. If there was a wife from Mbau she would be Randi Naiau, because Mbau was the greatest state in Fiji.

The other wives are called *i solonga*, a respectful term which means to marry. They obeyed the Randi Naiau. A lady from a state, such as Lomaloma or Totoya, had her individual house. The wives from Lau lived three to five in a house. The cooking was done by the lowborn wives, called kitchen women or servants (*vanda*).

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The former state of Lords of Naiau must be reconstituted from heresay:

The Lord of Naiau did not go to the wars. He was old and white-haired and stayed at home, and would say "Do this and that; get a kava bowl from Kambara." He did not go about at night. In the daytime he went a little with his elders (*matapule*) to plant; he then came back and kava was made with the nobles from Tonga. This was done every day, and a feast was brought daily from all Lakemba. The people hunted, fished, and made puddings as a kava collation. There was not a day when the old men were absent from the Big House; their clans in turn would make a feast for them.

Formerly, the elders could not look at or speak to Tui Naiau; their mouth had to be turned away and they looked down. They could not speak back, and would clap their hands by way of answer. If asked a direct question, they answered with averted faces. However, in the days of the late Chief, one lady could sit higher than Tui Naiau and speak loud in his presence because her mother was his elder sister . . . There is not a word possible against him; he is Tui Naiau. We only live to work in order that he may eat. If he orders pigs to be brought, they are brought; we are not angry.

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The Roko Sau is endowed with miraculous efficacy (mana) towards all, not like lesser nobles to his juniors only.

Thus if a lowborn person lies on the bed of the Chief or uses his cloth, the mana of it infects him; he gets a swollen neck or belly. The Roko Sau touches the place to remove the swelling. A dog once drank the water used by Malani, the Tui Naiau, and got a swollen belly. One village chief, a great courtier, says: "There was no famine under Ratu Finau. There was a famine under Maafu, one time Tongan governor, and a severe one under Ratu Erone, but none now; probably because Ratu Finau's rule is justified in Heaven (*ndonu mai Lomalangi*), because he has given up statute labor and first fruits.

[731]

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587 which consisted of only a feast, no gifts, because it was a marriage of "old people," that is married before, not of "young ones."

595 In heathen times every nobleman had several wives; some small men who were energetic had two wives. A man would frequently marry two sisters. "If," says Melaia, "I live with a nobleman, Makareta, Repeka, or some other will come to be the drawer of water (*i thalo ni wai*). The reason is that they are sisters." If the wife died it was sometimes the custom to bring her sister to take her place.

342 574 A small feast called *su* (soup) is made by the wife's people when the house of a married couple is built. Thus for one couple it was done three times: when the house was first built; when the reed wall was replaced by a wooden one; when the thatch was replaced by corrugated iron. The wife's people also make *su* when both return from a journey abroad. One such feast consisted of yams, pudding, and fish. The feast is omitted if either goes abroad alone.

574 502 If no *su* is made it is evident the wife has no kinsfolk; so the wife's people make *su* often lest in a quarrel between her and her husband, he reproach her saying, "Go away; you have no kinfolk; no *su* has been made on your behalf."

587 611 Ndranivia, the High Chief, gave his wife Yalekula to a nobleman of Matailakemba when she was pregnant; the child was brought up in Matailakemba, but eventually went back to Naivi, his father's clan, and Narewandamu, his mother's.

684 Adultery and divorce are common. In the old days if a man committed adultery with a nobleman's wife he would sue for pardon. If a lowborn man were married to a nobleman's relative and she committed adultery, the lowborn man would complain to the nobleman, who had the adulterer clubbed unless he sued for pardon. If a man committed adultery, say with a Waitambu man's wife, the husband would appeal to Tui Waitambu, or better still, to Tui Wathiwathi, who would club the guilty man. If a nobleman committed adultery he was exposed to revenge.

684 543 "Few high chiefs," says a nobleman, "were not killed. If one was kind to the people of the land he was not clubbed. Some were killed because they entered houses and took other people's wives. That is why our forefathers of Naivi were killed because they were handsome and fond of women." The two reasons why a chief was killed, according to one were "adultery and eating badly," that is eating the feasts brought without sharing them with the people.

583 It is not uncommon for wives to run away to their own people. If a woman marries into another clan, then runs away to her own clan, the hus-

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Clan Titles

554 The rank of a clan is determined not only by its phratry affiliation, but also
618 by the hereditary clan titles (pp. 48-53) held by its clan headman (*turanga ni matanggali*). Although the highest clan titles are held by the clans belonging to the upper class, some titles belonging to the lower class (such as the herald, *mata ni vanua*, to the high chief) take precedence over some noble titles. However, the clans in each class are ranked and the sum of hereditary prestige held by those in the upper class is much higher than that held by the lower class.

Theoretically the headman of the highest ranking clan is the high chief of Lau and to him all islands pay tribute. The chief is assisted by officials who hold graded hereditary clan titles. Chiefs or minor chiefdoms are headmen of ranking island clans. They receive tribute from the villages of their petty domains. They, in turn, have graded assistants.

High Chief

[554] The title of highest rank in Lau is the Roko Sau, chief of Naiau. He is
643 the chief of Lakemba and Naiau islands, and he is the high chief of Lau to whom all the islands in the chiefdom pay tribute. The title of chief of Lakemba, which he should logically hold also, exists in Fiji only as the ceremonial title of a forefather god. According to Williams (27, vol. 1, p. 219), the gods Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba Randinandina, are the sons of Ndengei who ranks supreme among the gods. The title of Tui Lakepa (Lakemba) is found in Tonga. (See also Gifford, 9, p. 34 and Hocart, 13, p. 44.)

The title of Roko Sau Tui Naiau is held by either one of two subclans, Matailakemba or Vatuwangga of Vuanirewa clan. Succession depends on the rank of both parents, on seniority, and on personal ability. It was formerly determined by a council of clan elders. Hocart (15, p. 51) writes:

> . . . It appears that several conflicting principles govern the succession. First, the general custom of passing from elder to younger brother till that generation is extinct, then taking the next generation in the same order. Second, the tendency to alternate between two houses, Matailakemba and Vatuwangga, descended from two brothers, to the exclusion of two lines that were defeated in civil wars. Third, the tendency to recognize superior nobility of the senior branch. The result is to leave the door open to considerations of character, and to violent usurpation.

Colonial government officials now take part with the clan elders in appointing the high chief.

[E95] Formerly the high chief had one principal wife, a woman of high rank chosen either from Lau or from one of the other chiefdoms in Fiji, and several secondary wives (*i solonga*), women of lower rank, from Lakemba or the outlying islands. The relative rank of the offspring of the chief depended upon the rank of the mother. Children of the principal wife were called *turanga*, those of the other wives *i kaso*. Now the high chief has but one wife.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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chief of Tokalau. Undu village has a chief called Tui Undu. He is from the Valakevoro clan and receives a village offering of first fruits. The village of Muanaira has a chief from the Nggilo clan. 622

The title of chief of the ceremonial ground (*tui ra* or *tui rara*) is found on every island. It is held by a clan of the land group. Presentations of food to the chief and subsequent distributions to the people take place on the ceremonial ground. The duty of the chief of the ceremonial ground is to divide the food so that each clan receives its share, according to rank and size. 624

Clan titles, now obsolete, but formerly found on Kambara are chief headman (*sau turanga*), held by the Nanggara clan headman; master of war (*mbatchi ndau ni valu*), held by Matasoata or Valakevoro clans, Undu; food master (*mbatchi ni kakana*) held by Nawi of Lomatchi. 618

Rank within the Clan

Rank within the clan is regulated by the principles of primogeniture, seniority, and cross-cousin marriage. The direct descendant of the first-born (*ulu matua*) son of the originator of the clan holds the highest rank within the clan, and of subclans which comprise the clan his takes precedence by seniority. The elder of either sex takes precedence over the younger throughout the lineage in each generation. Rank within the clan is discussed on pages 58-64. 618 554

MARRIAGE AND RELATIONSHIP

Marriage

Formerly polygyny was practiced by high ranking men who could afford several wives, especially by the chiefs. Monogamy, however, was the rule among people of lower rank. Polyandry was unknown. Today, as a result of missionary influence, Lauan society is monogamous. 595 593 747

Cross-cousin marriage

A man preferably marries his *watchi* (cross cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter, real or classificatory), but not all marriages fall within the preferred type. Formerly it was not uncommon for a chief to take two sisters as wives or for a man to marry the sister of his deceased wife. It is not rare for a man to marry his brother's widow. 582

Clan exogamy is the rule and a study of interclan marriage based on clan pedigrees shows that there is a tendency for certain clans to intermarry. This tendency is strongest on Ongea and Fulanga and weakest on Kambara and Mothe. It is probable that cross-cousin marriage is also more frequently practiced on the two isolated southern islands of Ongea and Fulanga and least on Kambara and Mothe. The genealogies from the five islands visited are not sufficient to furnish conclusive data on this point. 582 618